156 /158 cont./
571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

/158 cont./

627
628
[192]
[197]

/footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending: perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

[192]

It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

576

In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

726

There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

[192]

30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makũ, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxirí (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

/280 cont./

756 the vengeance is likewise wreaked against them (32).

32. Some assert that poison cannot be administered to the pajé. "He sees even from far away." This belief is advantageous to the pajés. It seems, nevertheless, that, at least nowadays, not everyone endorses it. In October of 1946, [753] a native from Ipanuré died of pneumonia. They attributed the sickness and death to the pajé from the neighboring povoado of Cigarro. When this pajé, with some persons from his povoado, were given the job of transporting some of our luggage through the varadouro /open passage through the forest/ of the cachoeira of Ipanuré, the Indians of this locality abandoned the work, hid in the forest, and, when the pajé passed by on the road, one of the men from Ipanuré gave him a blow with a stick, which he avoided, turning his head and covering it with his arm, which was broken at the elbow and forearm.

His presence in the vicinity of a povoado at night, when he goes to do his fishing, is always suspicious. If after one of his visits to /281/ some maloca (especially of another tribe) some death or misfortune happens there, the pajé will be blamed (33).

33. In a maloca of Jandú, on the igarapé Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié, shortly before our passing through there (December of 1947), [821] lightning had struck. The pajé, who had threatened to hurl a bolt of lightning there, was blamed for the misfortune.

[627] Some pajés have found themselves obliged to abandon the povoados and stay away for a long time, until the anger against them had lessened.

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

[797]

35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

*[192]

36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take
627 revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the
628 animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
• 627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
[115] advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
[797] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé, and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

/327 cont./

775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ãsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
756 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraordinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

764 The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
775 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

/466 cont./

622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 623 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komũã, the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkõã-kurá; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

[159] [648]

102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 622 648 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

• 627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

4: Silva--711 M-4, 5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

627 /466 cont./
[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the
[681] Bũxkõrá-kurá. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise.

g) Associations.

797 857 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (103)

103. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papury and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now.

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman.

LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm

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622 627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious [673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrong-doer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman 622 627 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, together with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave, 574 they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman himself, 614 picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the [182] unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable 574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal motive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged 578 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo 574 quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually 622 strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a ceremonial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission. 578 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels. 574 Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo, [572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no [614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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The relationship between the patterns of calm-frenzy and linkage-autonomy appears also in the juridical area. Here, as we observed, justice is carried out not in an atmosphere of calm deliberation but in an atmosphere of high excitement, as befits a situation in which the collectivity of the sib has been broken both by commission of the crime and by the act of expelling the offender. The juridical is not a ritual area. The example, however, demonstrates the continuity of ritual polarity-complementarity with a more general patterning of mood.

PATTERNING OF MOOD

The point has been made repeatedly that the Cubeo will undertake no significant action unless the mood is appropriate. The previous example of the juridical process is illustrative. Punishment or vengeance must correspond with appropriate anger. Ritual acts and dances are omitted when the mood is wrong. All collective enterprises of the sib, such as hunting, fishing, foraging, and house-building, require a mood of geniality. When such a mood begins to break, a fairly rapid chain reaction ensues. The sense of collectivity weakens and this, in turn, darkens the mood. This cycle of mood periodicity has been discussed in the context of the drinking party. In a different context it applies to other major collective efforts such as house-building, which also follows a cyclical rhythm of spurts of work alternating with lulls. The fishing cycle is still another example of Cubeo dependence on mood.

OVER-ALL PATTERN

Some examples of linkage of smaller patterns have been presented to suggest at least the possibility of describing Cubeo society in some broader and more inclusive terms. The problem, however, is that the concept of pattern is a hypothetical construction based upon calling of attention to analogies or parallelisms. The method of pattern construction is largely intuitive and the demonstration of its validity is largely a matter of presenting a credible argument. Despite these self-evident scientific shortcomings there can be little doubt that the presentation or analysis of a culture without the concept of pattern must involve a serious distortion of reality. The aim of a theoretical construction that would present a culture in terms of over-all pattern is to provide appropriate bases for a more sophisticated culture typology than anthropology presently possesses. Pattern need

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly re-
sentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to
exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these stand-
ards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are
unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a
brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a 571
more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indi-
cated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between
brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal
with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- [627] ●
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only
with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either
soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to
ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to
overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the
issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be
restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not
an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib
fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, com-
posed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or
with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by drain-
ing away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the
disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves
in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti-
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well [622]
equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives